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Himalah Mountains.

To the Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

SIR,

In a late Number of the Quarterly Review, containing Strictures on Mr. Moorcroft's Tour to the Lake Man Suror, and on Mr. Colebrooke's paper on the Himālah Mountains, we find a strong attempt made to bring down the height of that range, and of the countries beyond it, to what they consider a more reasonable standard. They assert, that no sufficient evidence is yet before the Public, to bear us out in the assertion of the superiority of these mountains, in point of elevation, over the Andes. They make several other observations, which, to those who have travelled at all in the vicinity of these mountains, seem, to say the least of them, very strange: such as those on the probable height at which snow always lies; the height of a good grassy plain, &c. &c. Indeed the whole tenor of their remarks shew how easily men of even the first abilities may be mistaken on such topics, when deficient in local experience.

With respect to the Himālah, as their elevation seems in a fair way to be determined, even to the satisfaction of the Reviewers, I shall not trouble you with any observations regarding them, but their opinion that the elevation of Thibet does not exceed 8000 feet, I propose here to combat, by a method, which if it be not calculated to set the question at rest, is perhaps fully as good as a Reviewer's unsupported assertion.

In Turner's Thibet, we find from Mr. Saunders, who accompanied that gentleman in a medical capacity, that the mean temperature at Teshoo Soomboo, during the month of October, for the hour of noon, was 46°. It is to be regretted, that the particulars from which this mean result was deduced, have not been given; as the conclusions which I shall draw from them, would have been rather more certain in this case. We can hardly, however, doubt, from considering the context, but that many observations were taken. At Kotgurh, a cantonment on the banks of the Sutluj, in latitude 31° 19', the kindness of a friend has favored me with a complete set of observations of the thermometer, for the month of October, and at several hours during the day. From this I draw, that the mean temperature of that month (hour of noon) is 63° 3'. The circumstance of Kotgurh exceeding Teshoo Soomboo in latitude, together with that of its proximity to the Himālah, (20 miles) are all in favor of my view of the question; as they would evidently tend to give the former place a colder climate than would be due to its elevation alone.

To deduce from this difference of temperature, (17° 3') the corresponding difference of elevation; let us, Mr. Editor, make use of Professor Leslie's formula. If b express the length of the barometric column, at the lower of two stations; and β that at the higher; then will the difference of temperature, t expressed in degrees of the centigrade scale,

$$\frac{t}{\beta} = \frac{\beta}{b} \cdot 25$$

This expression involves a quadratic equation, and being reduced, gives,

$$V b^2 \times \frac{1}{25} t^2 b^2 = \beta \times \frac{1}{25} t b$$

Now the mean height of the barometer at Kotgurh, or b , may be taken at 23° 6'; and t —we have seen 17° 3'. Fahrenheit—9° 6' centigrade. By substitution of these numbers, β is found to be 19° 5'. which is therefore to be considered the mean height of the barometer at Teshoo Soomboo, in the month of October. This indicates an elevation of nearly 12,000 feet.

I could easily add some other reasons for believing this result to be nearer the truth than the opinion of the Reviewers. The strongest might perhaps be drawn from a consideration of the known fall of those rivers, which come through the snowy chain; and the elevation of their beds on this side. I fear, however, my Letter is already too long; and I shall therefore only notice another of their erroneous opinions and conclude.

In the article above alluded to, we find the following passage:—"We may safely venture to assume 11,000 feet, as an elevation beyond that at which perpetual snow rests on the sides of the Himālah." In answer to this, I will merely observe, that on the 24th of September, I attained the summit of a mountain, which by trigonometrical measurement, I found to be elevated 13,300 feet above the plains of the Dooab; and consequently, not less than 14,000 feet above the level of the sea. The only trace of snow I found was a patch on the northern face, about 20 feet in length, 8 in breadth, and 1 in depth. It was fast melting, and I have little doubt but that it disappeared altogether, before the beginning of October. This you may easily credit, when I inform you, that though the thermometer was usually at 32° in the morning, yet during the day, it mounted (in the sun) to 81°.

I am, Sir, Your very obedient servant,

August 17.

A TARTAR OF THE STEPPES.

Indian Research.

To the Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

SIR,

It is with considerable satisfaction that I perceive the spirit of Indian Research somewhat reviving, after having slumbered or rather lain dormant so long; and I should rejoice still more to find the valuable hints and observations of your learned Correspondents MANETHO and P—, have their proper effect in more instances than one. In one of these, however, I venture to differ in opinion in a small degree with both; namely,—in that I would never wish to hold out an offer of emolument to a member of the Asiatic Society, by way of rousing him into energy in the investigation or pursuit of Science or Research, although I would have no objection to learn that in addition to some honorary distinction, conferred, in the shape of a medal or otherwise, upon any meritorious individual, whether of their number or not, that Literary Body so far assisted him as to defray any heavy extra personal expense actually and unavoidably incurred in the prosecution of any interesting object, undertaken with their previous approbation; and it appears to come also fairly within their province to bring to the notice of Government, such individuals as they may find willing and capable of conducting any particular branch of research. The Society will then be truly what it professes to be, the Nurse of Eastern Science and Literature.

But let it be the part of Government, who are the avowed Patrons of that Society, and the bounden encouragers of meritorious conduct, whether literary or professional, amongst their servants in general, to deal out more substantial rewards to superior talents and acquirements with a liberal hand. That its Illustrious Head is ardently alive to this generous feeling, is well known to us all; but it does not rest with that personage alone; and even if it did, unfortunately the channels of approach towards him may be sometimes so inaccessible, or if barely accessible, so beset with artificial difficulties, or so chilled by the cold breath of official apathy, as to freeze even the boldest spirit of enterprise in the outset of the attempt. It is to be hoped, however, that such instances are few. Let me leave then a topic into which I have been drawn without intending it, and proceed to notice the main object of this communication.

Among other useful hints, MANETHO and your Correspondent P—, inculcate the necessity of the study of the languages, and particularly of the Shanskrit, to the investigators of the antiquities of India; and the former justly instances the error into which Colonel Franklin has inadvertently been led by trusting to Persian translations of Shanskrit originals. After all, however, it appears to me that neither MANETHO nor his literary friend who took the *fac simile* of the inscription of the Paduka Tablet at Bhaugulpore, have succeeded in pointing out the full quantum of Colonel Franklin's error; and in this idea I am induced to hope that both will acquiesce with me when I shall state my reasons for so thinking.

MANETHO remarks that, in Colonel Franklin's Essay on the Site of Palibothra (part 1st p. 24.) we observe the following passage:—"From the best chronological and geo-chronological works extant, we shall find

that, by taking as a basis, that the year 4696 of the era of Rajah Judishter (being the same with that of the world) corresponds with the year 1596 of our Lord, according to the Ayeen Akberry, it follows, that Rajah Judishter reigned B. C. 3100; that the date of the Tablet is 2559 of Judishter, which was B. C. 541; whilst of the Christian era have elapsed 1812 years. The age of the Tablet deposited, agreeably to this comparison of eras, will be 2353 years.* But Colonel Franklin obtained his information through a Persian channel, vide p. 17, and the date here assigned, and for which he himself, with great candour will not vouch (p. 26) is proved to be erroneous. For a gentleman whose high acquirements in Oriental Literature are indisputable, and his attainments too well known and his merits too justly appreciated by the learned both in Europe and Asia to require encomium from my pen, lately informed MANETHO that a *fac-simile* of the slab exhibits an actual Sumbut or year of Vickramadittya 1693; and also of Saka or Salibapana 1558; which leaves the exact age of the Tablet about 183 years prior to the date of the present year.

In addition to the above Extract, allow me to bring to the view of MANETHO and the rest of your readers the following additional quotations from the Colonel's Essay. In p. 9, it is observed that in a Commentary on the Dhurunikosa, a Shanskrit Lexicon, it is stated that the celebrated Jaya Singa, Sovereign of *Jayapoor*, being desirous of making some enquiry about the famed metropolis of the Baliaputras, dispatched a messenger for the purpose of investigation to the town of Champoca, or Champa-nugur, the place of Bhagdaut, or seat of worship of the sect called Jains: Again, in p. 14 and 15 it is stated, that the Pundit who has charge of the Tablet containing the print of the divine feet and its accompanying Shanskrit inscription, has a stipend from the court of *Jayapoor*; and that the *Jayapoor* sovereigns, who are of the Jain sect, have the charge of the temple, and furnish the means of keeping it in repair; and again in p. 17, in the Translation of the Inscription it is mentioned (if I understand the sentence right) that by the advice of Sree Dhurm Chund, an inhabitant of the fair city of *Jayapoor*, a certain family conjointly founded this Vasapooja, &c.

Now from the context of all these quotations, I would be naturally inclined to agree with MANETHO (setting aside the idea of identifying either the building or the inscription with the era of Palibothra as entirely out of the question) that the *fac-simile* alluded to, by correcting the error of 1000 years, at once cleared up all doubts, respecting the real date of the building of the Paduka, did I not reflect that if the *Jayapoor* sovereign and capital in *Ajmeer* be those alluded to, we are left as much in the dark as ever; for as *Jayapoor* was founded by Rajah Jaya Sing, so late as the reign of Muhamud Shah, not a century ago, how can an inhabitant of that fair city have advised the founding of the Paduka even 180, let alone 2000 years ago!!

I happen to have myself visited the Padooka, and inspected the Tablet, and being entirely ignorant of the Shanskrit Language, the wily pundit may have easily misled me, as well as the Colonel in regard to the date actually inscribed on the stone; but even he, when I joked with him on the folly of attempting to make us believe it to be so ancient as he declared, replied with a smile that as the learned "*Gentlemen*" disagreed about its antiquity, how could he decide! I recollect farther asking him whither the Jains were very numerous at *Jayapoor*, without thinking of the inconsistency above noticed, and received for reply that they were so, that they amounted to many thousands, and that the Rajahs Dewan was of that cast, and the patron of the temple at Baugulpoor.

Should it turn out, after all, that another *Jayapoor* is meant, all my objections to MANETHO's correction will fall to the ground, and we will then see assigned to the building of the two minars a date to which no reasonable man can object, whether we examine the style of architecture, alluding particularly to the cullies or Cupola, by which they are surmounted, or to the appearance of the masonry, and the form of the bricks, of which they are constructed. The next traveller who visits those structures will be able to add to the account of them that a temple of considerable dimensions for the reception of the Tablet has been constructed between the minars, under the auspices of either the *Jayapoor* sovereign or some of his court.*

* There was a very small building on the spot before, which I believe has not been removed; but the new temple built over it so as to enclose it. Even the new temple however will remain unconnected with the towers or minars, which are about 22 paces asunder.

In closing this desultory communication I cannot help remarking that in the Engraving given of the Tablet, the English artist has by his fine carved lines, and borders, and I don't know what, so altered the real appearance of the thing that I should never have recognized it as a copy of the one seen by me at Baugulpoor, which to the best of my recollection was a rather rough and rugged slab of hornblende, about a foot and half long, a foot broad, and about 6 inches thick, but far less shapely than the copy given, and the letters (equally unlike the copy) more resembling the effect of continued scratching and hammering with a large nail than the work of an expert stone-cutter; and I recollect laughing heartily at the great dexterity of the sculptor in bringing the nails of the toes into view in what appeared to be the impression of the soles of the feet. This is not, however, the first instance in which we have to find fault with the intrusive talent of the English artist in similar instances; as may be seen by a reference to any *English Edition* of the Asiatic Researches, to Moor's Pantheon, and to other works connected with Indian Antiquities, in which instead of following the faithful delineation of the generally monstrously faulty sculptures and paintings of the country (as far as regards the proportions of the forms of men and animals at least) they often seem emulous of producing a finished picture out of a rude outline, and bringing together in an uncouth groupe of Hindoo Deities, all the grace and harmony of proportions so long admired in the sculptured divinities of Greece and Rome.

One word more and I have done. Not being versed in Shanskrit myself, I was unwilling to enter more particularly into the merits of the Persian Translation of the Shanskrit writing on the Tablet; but having had the Shanskrit read over, and loosely explained to me in Hindoostanee, I am inclined to think that the Persian, far from having been at all a literal or even paraphrastic translation of the Shanskrit was at least an unmeaning distortion of the original. I would therefore feel much obliged by any of our Shanskrit scholars giving us a correct Translation of the Inscription as given in the *print*.

In the hope of further light being thrown on this subject by either or both of your valuable Correspondents MANETHO, and P—, to whom I, for one, beg leave to express my sincere thanks and obligations for their praiseworthy efforts in the cause of Science and Research.

I remain, Sir,

A humble gleaner in the same field,
and your very obedient servant,

Calcutta, Sept. 6, 1819.

VIATOR.

Notice of a Comet.

To the Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

SIR,

As you have proposed to make your Literary Journal a repository of scientific communications and accounts of natural phenomena or other circumstances connected with general Science; permit me to offer the following short notice of a Comet which lately made its appearance here, "with awful train projected over the heavens:"

I first saw it on the 6th July, having an altitude of about 2° or 3° when visible to the naked-eye, i. e. about three quarters twilight. On the 11th, I again saw it remarkably bright, and as I thought moving from the Sun. On the 14th, I saw it the third and last time, but though I had taken some pains to adjust correctly an altitude and azimuth circle, was not able to make any satisfactory observations. It set about half past eight, having an azimuth of about 32° W. N. To the naked-eye it appeared a large one, the tail being nearly 2° long; but viewed through a 43-inch Achromatic, the nucleus was ill defined and the tail greatly deficient in splendour. It was situated close to two small Stars on the 7th or 8th May.

I need hardly observe, that the constant clouds which prevail at this season of the year in these mountainous regions prevented my seeing it, except on the days mentioned and consequently of making any observations. It seems now to have disappeared. If however it was on its approach towards the Sun, we may again expect to see it when it recedes from that luminary. I may remark in conclusion, that I do not think it can have been visible at places the latitude of which is less than 29° if even so low; consequently it cannot have been seen at Madras, which makes the want of some observations in this quarter, the more to be regretted.

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

Kotgurh Cantonment,
August 12, 1819.

A SURVEYOR.

Burning of Widows.

Want of room prevented our giving insertion to this interesting article, from the *FRIEND OF INDIA*, a Work whose merits we noticed in our last Literary Number, and from which we shall be always proud to draw occasional aid, in order, by a more extensive circulation of their valuable labours, to effect more amply the important objects to which they are directed. As we can in no degree improve on the article itself, —we give it at length, and transcribe it literally.

It is a melancholy reflection that the religion which influences the population of these vast regions is totally unfavourable to the exercise of any principle either of humanity or virtue. Many of its precepts are so afflictive and unnatural, that they seem to have sunk by common consent into complete disuse; and if every point of the Hindoo ritual were literally enforced, not only would it be impossible to carry forward the ordinary business of life, but all those social relations, to which we are indebted for so much of our happiness, would be completely obliterated, and the whole frame of society dissolved. There are still, however, many usages subversive equally of benevolence and morality, which have been perpetuated for ages. Among these is the burning of widows, a practice, the enormity of which would strike even the Hindoos themselves, did not a blind attachment to the vices of their forefathers, overcome every natural feeling.

In all the annals of human depravity, it will be difficult to discover a custom so horrible, in its nature, or so destructive in its consequences both on individual and public happiness. It forms one of the blackest pages in the history of Hindooism, and were this feature of its character alone to remain on record, it would be of itself sufficient to hand it down to the execration of the latest ages. That a practice which would reflect a stigma on the most barbarous tribes, should have been sanctioned by men of thought and penetration, and perpetuated among a people whose mildness of disposition is proverbial, shews to what a state of degradation the mind may be reduced under the influence of an unnatural superstition. This is not the case of a patriot relinquishing life to establish the freedom of his country,—it is not a martyr braving the flames to maintain the rights of conscience—it is not a noble mind sacrificing even life itself on some occasion of exalted virtue to secure to posterity the benefit of its high example. On these occasions, we feel a melancholy pleasure in applauding a voluntary resignation of life. But it is the helpless and disconsolate widow torn from her family at the very climax of her grief, and hurried to the flames amidst the shouts of an unfeeling multitude. She must stifle every feeling of compassion for the offspring of her womb, she must renounce them at a period when they stand most in need of her care; and, when weighed down with sorrow, she must take a last look on all mortal things, and enter the flames. Every feeling of humanity is here sacrificed, without the counterbalance of the least degree of advantage either to individuals or to society. Had this sacrifice been demanded of the stronger part of the community, even then it would have been a demand of singular enormity; but in a country like Hindoosthan to demand this sacrifice of the weaker sex, to urge the unprotected female, while her grief for the loss which her children have recently sustained is yet unsupportable, to deprive them of their only remaining consolation, and cast them on the wide world, without father or mother, is surely a case of unparalleled barbarity, and tends almost beyond any thing else to develope the extent of that depravity to which Hindooism owes its origin.

If we turn from the wretched victim to the unhappy offspring whom she abandons, what do we behold, but a sight of still deeper woe! Scarcely recovered from the blow inflicted on them by the death of their father, they are hurried from their once peaceful home to the funeral pile to witness the death of their mother! In other countries, the loss of paternal protection is in some measure compensated, by the increased exertion of maternal kindness and solicitude. But under the influence of this system, their children are deprived of both parents in one day. A state of the deepest misery succeeds to a state of the highest happiness, with such rapidity, as almost to deprive them of the exercise of their mental faculties. The family compact is destroyed with the suddenness of an earthquake. The corpse of the father is scarcely cold, before their only living parent is bound to it, and consumed in their presence. But there are circumstances of still greater enormity attached to this system. The funeral pile must be lighted by the eldest son! Had this deed of darkness been consigned to some unconcerned spectator, to the brahmin who officiates on these occasions with such lively pleasure, or even to some distant and unaffected relative, this might have been some relief to the feelings. But it must be performed by the *eldest son*; the extinction of the hopes of this family

is consigned to him. He accompanies his mother from his home to the banks of the Ganges, he stands by in all the agony of grief during the performance of those tremendous rites by which she devotes herself to destruction, nor does he dare to lift an arm for her relief: he beholds his mother, endeared to him by the recollection of a thousand acts of kindness, thrown on the funeral pile like a beast of sacrifice, and inhumanly bound to the dead body of her husband with all those indications of brutal satisfaction which shed a tenfold horror on the scene; and surrounded by his weeping brothers and sisters, he lights up the pile which consumes the living parent with the dead, and extinguishes all their hopes of future tenderness and protection. Every circumstance which can aggravate this scene of woe is here combined; nor is it possible to conceive of any thing which could add a deeper tinge of barbarity that has been omitted.

If we would form an adequate idea, however, of the effects of this system on social happiness, we must not overlook the state of prospective misery which each family suffers long before the painful moment of separation arrives. The family in which it is known that the mother must through the tyranny of custom devote herself to the flames, is subjected for years to the most painful and afflictive anxiety. The happiness which they enjoy may be suddenly annihilated; a single day may reduce them from a high state of domestic felicity to the situation of the most wretched orphans. They feel that the death of the father will be only a signal for the more horrid death of their endeared mother. The anguish which such a state of suspense and anxiety must involve, may be more easily conceived than described. The longer they are indulged with the endearments of maternal affection, the longer is this state of misery prolonged, and the keener does that stroke become of which they are held in dreadful expectation: thus, that which under a milder institution is a source of joy, is here turned into an aggravation of expected wretchedness. The continuance of their social happiness is removed even from the common chance of mortality, and placed at the disposal of a merciless superstition; even the cup of bliss is mixed with the bitterest gall, and that season of life when, from the absence of care, the mind is disposed to the utmost gaiety and cheerfulness, is in many instances consumed in almost insupportable anxiety and distress.

The influence of this system is scarcely less destructive to the general happiness of society. It aggravates every natural calamity, and gives additional horror to every disease. In other countries, the prevalence of an epidemic only serves to increase the energies of benevolence. In this country, however, there are no attempts made either to stem the current of disease, or to console the afflicted and bereaved. Those of the family whom the disease has spared, are only reserved for accumulated misery—the survivors, instead of receiving assistance, are cruelly deprived of that parent who could most effectually have afforded it. Every epidemic therefore assumes an aspect of ten fold horror. This dreadful practice is not suspended during a period of general distress; in vain do the wretched offspring demand the life of their mother at a time, when from the universal prevalence of disease, hers is the only hand that can minister relief to them; this superstition is inexorable as death itself.

When the country is afflicted, as during the past year, with a destructive epidemic, the numerous victims to disease, the augmented number of female immolations, the number of relatives who stand exposed by the ravages of superstition and death to the loss of all parental aid or consolation, form a consummation of misery, to which no other country on earth presents a parallel.

Viewing as we do, therefore, this horrid system as destructive both to public happiness, and to domestic enjoyment, we hail with lively satisfaction, a pamphlet recently published by a Hindoo on this subject. A learned native, already well known among our countrymen by his luminous examination of the Hindoo theology and philosophy, has printed and widely circulated a tract in the Bengalee language, the object of which is to dissuade his countrymen from the practice of these horrid rites; and has likewise published a translation of the tract in English. It is too long for insertion in this Journal, and too short for considerable extracts; we shall therefore content ourselves with giving a summary view of its contents. The general character of his arguments tends of itself to develope the state of feeling among the natives on this subject. There is no appeal made to their national honor, no attempt to kindle their indignation against a custom which reflects such disgrace on the character of the country,—no endeavour to arouse all their feelings against a practice so repugnant to every principle of humanity: not that we suspect for a moment that the benevolent individual who composed it, would have hesitated to employ such arguments,

had he not been convinced of their complete inutility. The tract is in the form of a dialogue between an Advocate and an Opponent of the system. The advocate cites various passages from Ungira, Vyas, Hareet, and the Rig-veda, which enjoin or applaud the practice of self-immolation. Against these passages, the opponent produces an extract from Munoo, the great Hindoo legislator, of whom the Veda itself says, that "Whatever Munoo has said is wholesome;" which Vrihusputi corroborates by adding "Whatever is contrary to the law of Munoo is not commendable." The extract is as follows: "Let a widow emaciate her body, by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but let her not, when her Lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue till death, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue, which have been followed by such women as were devoted to one only husband."

From this passage the Opponent infers, that as Munoo directs the widow after the death of her husband to pass her whole life as an ascetic, he intended she should *remain alive* for this purpose; and hence that this direction of Munoo is totally opposed to the directions of the other sages; and that their authority must bend to that of this great legislator. The opponent then adduces as his next argument, the disesteem in which the generality of the Hindoo sages regard works of merit or demerit, or more properly, works done with the interested motive of gaining future happiness thereby; and to shew that these are not necessary to the attainment of what the Hindoos esteem the highest state of felicity, absorption in Brumhu, he quotes the following passage from the Veda: "By living in the practice of regular and occasional duties, the mind may be purified. Thereafter by hearing, reflecting, and constantly meditating on the Supreme Being, absorption in Brumhu may be attained. Therefore, from a desire during life of future fruition, life ought not to be destroyed." The immolation of the widow being urged on her wholly on interested motives, that of enjoying numerous ages of happiness with her deceased husband as its fruit, is therefore opposed to that system, which, disregarding all actions connected with bodily enjoyment, magnifies the value of Divine knowledge as leading to absorption in Brumhu.

Unable to urge any thing better, its Advocate insists, that after all, a practice handed down to them by Hareet and others ought not to be set aside. This his Opponent meets not only by saying that this argument is inconsistent with justice, but by urging the violation of their own rule in the very act of burning. The direction is, that "the widow shall voluntarily quit life ascending the *flaming pile* of her husband." Now says he "You first bind down the widow along with the corpse of her husband, and then heap over her such a quantity of wood that she cannot rise. At the time too of setting fire to the pile, you press her down with large bamboos. In what passage of Hareet or the rest do you find authority for thus binding the woman according to your practice? This is in fact deliberate female murder."

On this part of the subject we think it right to add a word or two. In the burning of widows as practised at present in some parts of Hindoosthan, however voluntary the widow may have been in her determination, force is employed in the act of immolation. After she has circumambulated and ascended the pile, several natives leap on it, and pressing her down on the wood, bind her with two or three ropes to the corpse of her husband, and instantly throw over the two bodies thus bound to each other, several large bamboos, which being firmly fixed to the ground on both sides of the pile, prevent the possibility of her extricating herself when the flames reach her. Logs of wood are also thrown on the pile, which is then in flames in an instant; for to such a pitch of cruel ingenuity have the brahmuns accustomed to officiate on these occasions, attained by frequent use, that the whole of this process is realized almost with the rapidity of thought. Scarcely a single moment is left to the spectator to contemplate the scene, before the unhappy woman is writhing in the agonies of death. The author of the pamphlet under review, states that this practice has been recently introduced, and that it is confined almost exclusively to Bengal. This information we have reason to believe is perfectly correct. A few months ago, in one of the largest cities in Hindoosthan, a woman who had devoted herself to death, and had even ascended the funeral pile, leaped out of the flames, and plunged herself into the river. Her relatives seized on her, and dragged her back to the pile; but she uttered the loudest cries calling upon the officers of justice who attended, to save her from a forcible death. They instantly interposed their authority, and on finding that she steadfastly resisted the wishes of her relatives, ordered her to return home; and though this scene occurred in a large city highly bigotted to Hindooism, and in the presence of thousands of spectators, there was not

the least attempt made to rescue her from the protection of the officers of government.

Before the late regulations of Government restricting the practice to the cases permitted in the Shastras, many instances occurred of widows, who, having refused to burn after approaching the flames, were forcibly thrown on the pile by their unfeeling relatives, that they might avoid the disgrace attached to a failure in such cases.

The use of force by means of bamboos is, we believe, universal through Bengal; it is intended to present the possibility of the widow's escape from the flames, as such an act would be thought to reflect indelible disgrace on the family. The number of widows burnt in Bengal, however, exceeds by nearly three times, the number burnt in all the other provinces of Hindoosthan besides. Thus in three cases out of four, that force is used which renders all resistance on the part of the unhappy sufferer vain. This is totally contrary to the rules of even of those Shastras which command the practice; they strictly enjoin that the sacrifice shall be perfectly voluntary in every stage of its progress. Constraint indeed is forbidden by the very nature of the sacrifice. It is called a Sutee, because a woman devotes herself to the flames to prove that she has continued immovably faithful to her husband. Not only therefore must the intention be voluntary; but to evince this, the act of immolation must not include the most distant idea of constraint. The use of bamboos is therefore at variance with the nature of the sacrifice, and with all the rules by which it is supported, and which direct, that she shall not ascend the pile before the flames are kindled. It is the *flaming pile* of her husband, that she is enjoined to ascend; and the immense difference between ascending the *flaming* pile, and being bound firmly down before the flames are kindled, must be obvious to all.

The Supreme Government has now for several years lessened the sum of misery caused by this system, by strictly forbidding the immolation of widows in cases where the Hindoo Shastras have forbidden it. The age and circumstances of those who devote themselves to destruction, have thus become matter of examination, and we feel convinced that were Government farther to extend its care to the circumstances which attended the act of immolation itself, much would be done by this alone towards the extinction of this horrid practice; and surely if "a vigor beyond the laws," be ever tolerated, it should not be when the law has originated in the most savage barbarity, and is held doubtful by the wisest and most virtuous among the Hindoos themselves*—when its operation is levelled, not against the ruffian who eludes justice, but against the most amiable and helpless part of our Indian fellow subjects. Under the influence of the former regulations, many females of tender age have been rescued from destruction, yet not a single murmur has been heard throughout the country; no one attempt to counteract the wise and benign intentions of Government or to employ force in the cause of inhumanity. Were the use of bamboos forbidden also, and the horrid sacrifice made to assume the exact complexion which the Shastras direct, we feel assured that the tranquillity of the country would not be disturbed for a single moment. And if the apprehension that the widow, unable to ascend the *burning* pile, might possibly reflect disgrace on the family on the spot destined for immolation, by a change of mind, should in any case induce the relatives to dissuade a female from incurring the risk, the advantage would be entirely on the side of humanity and justice. Considering as we do the British Government to be the greatest temporal blessing which Providence has conferred on this country, we cannot give up the hope indeed that, ultimately, Government will abolish entirely a custom which involves the murder of the helpless and the innocent, almost without the shadow of support from the Hindoo superstition itself. The immediate and complete interdiction of force, however, in the act of burning the helpless widow, while it would be in exact unison with that benevolence which distinguishes our sway over these regions, would subject the natives to nothing more than the strict observance of their own rules: and we might hope that, if it were deemed too much to insist at once on its complete extinction, even this regulation steadily enforced, and aided by that knowledge which has begun to dawn upon this country, and the increasing influence which our equitable administration gives us over the affections of the natives, will gradually abolish this horrid custom. The subject of its abolishment, however, is too important to be compressed into this narrow space: we hope to resume it in a future Number.

* Mritonjoy, the head pundit of the Supreme Court, has given it as his opinion, that Brumhacharya, or a life of mortification is the law for a widow; and that burning with the husband is merely an alternative. Hence, he argues that the alternative can never have the force of law.

The high importance of this interesting Question to every Englishman, in whatever part of the globe he may be stationed, will plead our apology for thus devoting a portion of our Literary Number to the subject; as well as our breaking through the order of our dates, which we shall resume in regular succession to-morrow.

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—MAY 18, 1818.

STATE OF THE NATION.

Mr. TIERNEY, on rising pursuant to notice, said he must claim the indulgence of the House while he endeavoured, in as brief a manner as possible, to state the grounds upon which his motion for the appointment of a Committee to consider the State of the Nation, was founded. If nothing but a feeling of party spirit had been the reason, he could assure the House that he should not have brought it forward; for did not necessity and a sense of duty to the country compel him, he would much rather have avoided it. He could not conceive that any person could be placed in a situation less to be envied than the Gentlemen opposite, none who had been more cuffed and kicked about; he had never known an Administration so low in public estimation, so dead to their situation, and who only displayed a vigorous feeling in their determination to maintain their offices. The House would recollect the strong opposition against the appointment of a Committee upon the Penal Laws. Upon the motion for a Committee respecting the Scotch Burghs it was by them deemed as an attempt at visionary Parliamentary Reform. These, and he might add a long list of other measures, had been carried, notwithstanding the opposition that had been given by Ministers. He was not so dull but he could discern the advantages he might derive were he to make this a party question, but he would dismiss such considerations from his mind: party had nothing to do with the question, but he had a more competent duty to perform, viz. duty towards the country, which ought to be, and with him should be paramount. He wished not to excite any unjust feelings towards his Majesty's Ministers, but if they would not take care of their own dignity, the House was bound to protect that of the country. He had the satisfaction to address a Parliament composed of a considerable number of Members, who would vote for what was moved without reference to the mover; and he trusted that he should be enabled to make out a case so strong as to secure their votes for his motion. The question resolved itself into two parts, the first to be considered would be the State of Public Affairs, this part, it must be admitted was full of difficulty, danger, and alarm; the second would be, that the House should resolve itself into a Committee, and this be considered to be called for, by the existing state of public affairs, in the administration of which, no vigour could be discovered to support embarrassed finance, and a tottering country. Whichever way they looked, they would perceive that every nation but our own directed their attention to the arrangement of their finances, and were redeeming themselves from the embarrassments that had accumulated during the war.

It was not his intention to enter into a consideration of foreign affairs farther than the question required, yet there were some points to which he must beg the attention of the House. The world enjoyed a profound peace, and sincerely did he hope it might continue; but notwithstanding, he did not consider Europe to be in that settled state to induce the most sanguine hopes to anticipate its long duration. Formerly this country had no separate alliances with different States, but she now formed a component part of a compact of four countries who had undertaken to settle the destinies of the Continent; to which France, over which country they had held the terror of a foreign army to protect the family on that Throne, had through her good conduct been lately admitted as a fifth contracting Power. He knew not what faith was to be reposed in this holy alliance, but he hoped that their promises would be as sacredly observed as it was piously entitled. After the foreign troops had been withdrawn from France, application was made to the Duke de Richelieu, by which France was invited to become a party to the alliance, and in one short fortnight after, the business had been concluded, and that country was now received as a brother ally. He did not mean to impute any blame to the Noble Lord, nothing being further from his wish than to provoke any feeling of hostility; but he would ask, for what did we engage in war with France, but to prevent that country obtaining too great a preponderance in Europe? That was the great object in view. But in what situation was she now placed: her commerce reviving, her finances arranged, she possessed a free Constitution, a limited Monarchy, and a people whose voices were heard through a Representative Parliament. It was true, that these advantages had been obtained at a high price, and many years of good conduct would be necessary to redeem her character; yet in the scale of nations, in how much more formidable a position did she stand than she enjoyed two years ago.

Towards that country, it would be desirable to exercise a spirit of conciliation; but still a duty was owing to this country, nor could we forget that France ever had been, and ever would be a powerful rival. There was another country to which he would now direct the attention of the House, he meant America, a country that stood out of the pale of the Congress, therefore, it became the House to be prepared in case of any emergency. Within the last year two British subjects had been executed by an American. On this he had no doubt many arguments might be advanced; he was old enough, however, to recollect the time when such an event would have met with a far different reception.—(Hear, hear!)—He wished to be understood

as not intending any imputations upon his Majesty's Ministers, who were no doubt justified in acting with prudence. The national honor of that country was concerned; and it was not to be forgotten that that country had extended her connexions so as to threaten danger to our Colonial possession. Representation had no doubt been made; the circumstance already shewed that a difference was felt towards England, in her former flourishing state, and in her present embarrassed finances. It might perhaps be difficult to ascertain the point of submission, but this was manifest, that the world should be convinced, that England preserved peace from the love of peace; that her object was peace; for if peace was maintained from the deficiency of means, such a peace would be only war postponed; the result must be war, and that of the most disastrous description. Our national character was of the utmost importance; it was every thing on which we could rely; but this did not consist in military establishments and colleges, but in a powerful Navy and a flourishing Exchequer. "Give me," said the Hon. Gentleman, "a well-manned Navy and flourishing Finances, and I'll set the world at defiance!" On this point he had nothing further to add, but to press upon the House the necessity of not losing time.

The next thing to which he would request their attention was, the state of the Commerce of the country, and upon this he need only refer to evidence before the House, by which it would be seen not in this or that particular branch, but that trade in general was in a state of complete stagnation. It was a fact, that no steps had been taken by his Majesty's Ministers to obtain a commercial treaty, excepting the treaty with America; and there the Newfoundland trade had been situated in a state of dismay and to the parties interested certain bounties had been granted to suppress their clamours. Had his Majesty's Ministers actually entertained a wish to benefit the country, would they not have availed themselves of every opportunity to secure commercial advantages; but they had done nothing, no instance could be adduced; and with one country, where a more favourable opening could not have presented itself, it had been utterly neglected, he meant with Spanish America. The consolation such a hope might have inspired, would be completely annihilated by a Bill that he supposed would be shortly introduced; in this case then, Ministers had not only neglected the advantages that might have been obtained, but by the Bill to which he had alluded, would do worse than nothing. With reference to the state of the finances, he had at first intended to have taken a general view of the subject; but as the detail would occupy too long a time, the attention of the House, he should confine himself to a few particular points. He would appeal to the House whether any steps had been taken to recruit the finances of the country. He would refer them to the state of the finances in the years 1815-16: at that time, the amount of the funded and unfunded debt was £60 millions; with this debt one would have expected from Ministers anxious to relieve the country, that some proposition would have been made; but from the conduct then pursued, the House would have a sample of what might be expected in future. At that time the continuance of the Property Tax had been proposed, and thrown out by that House; upon which, like angry boys, the Ministers voluntarily threw up the war taxes; they did not resign, but placed their reliance on the Bank, trusting that the chapter of accidents might enable them to continue in office during the rest of their days. In that year 90,000*l.* was borrowed from the Bank, and the payment of a previous debt due to that Establishment was postponed, and the Bank Restriction Act was continued. Next year, the House was entertained with many speeches on the flourishing state of the finances: hopes were held out that the 5 per Cents. would be paid off, and that great advantages might be anticipated from a reduction of the interest; although this would have been a measure founded on fraud; for if the Funds had been artificially kept up for the purpose of securing such an advantage, the parties so deceived would have been treated with injustice. A Right Honorable Gentleman opposite had been held up as deserving all the blame attaching to these transactions; he was compelled, in justice to that Right Honorable Gentleman, to say, that the Noble Lord (Castlereagh,) and the Right Honorable Gentleman on his right (Mr. Canning,) were equally responsible with himself. In 1818 the same phantom had been continued to be held before their eyes, and he believed the Report of the Finance Committee during the present Sessions held out the same expectations. His Majesty's Ministers thought it was necessary on the part of the Bank to suspend cash payments until the 5th of next July. If they had taken his advice long ago, it would have been otherwise. Some Gentlemen had voted a year since that it was not right at that time to inquire into the affairs of the Bank, by which means another year had been lost to the public interest, and this for no one reason that he could comprehend, except that the question came from that side of the House. But it was said the motion was opposed because one year was necessary to make preparation on the part of the Bank; but the Bank themselves denied the assertion, and therefore when that necessity was stated in the preamble, it was said it came there by mistake. But now that all secrets came out in the Secret Committee, it appeared that the only reason to impede cash payments at the Bank was, that Government had not paid them the money they had advanced. The Bank denied that it was their wish any longer to suspend cash payments, but that it was impossible they should resume them until they were repaid the debt due to them by Government. Now could any thing be more contemptible than, that, after three years of peace, the country should be in this situation? On referring to the Resolutions of the Committee, he found that on the 18th of January last, the funded and unfunded debt of this country amounted to 845 millions, and he found that on the 18th of January, 1816, it was just 14 millions more, which sum was the total decrease of the public debt within three years of peace; but then it was to be considered whether the assets had increased. We had some excess of revenue, amounting to eight millions and a half; but that

was got rid of in the payment of dividends, and did remain as a balance in hand. From the Report of the Committee laid before the House, they had the whole of what was to happen in this year in the financial system as well as if the noble Lord had told them. It came to be sure, as from the Chairman of that Committee, but it was given to him by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and must, therefore, be considered as coming from that Chancellor, or from a different than his own mouth.

The hon. member then proceeded to shew, that in the most favourable view of the present financial system, the country would have got rid of no more than 12,000,000. of debt; and, under the whole of the statement he had made, he would ask, whether it was unreasonable for him to call on the house to interfere; and if it was reasonable for ministers to tell him they opposed his purpose merely because they wished to keep their places, which they had not sufficient strength to sustain with any good effect for the interest of the country? Was it, therefore, unreasonable for him to call on the house to interfere, by a candid inquiry into the real state of the nation?—for, should any disaster occur, either through the failure of a negotiation or any aggression from a foreign power by any accident involve this country in a new conflict, the country would have to face a new war with a debt of 830,000,000. Another point to be considered was, whence the national creditor was to receive his dividends? For such already were the charges on the consolidated fund, that it was impossible for the minister to pay his quarterly dividends without the assistance of the bank, for without that assistance he could as soon raise the dead as raise the money! Was it then for the country at such a time to depend for new advances from the bank? It would, indeed, be a most extraordinary mode of reliance for the country on any sudden emergency, when the payment of six millions of dividends could not be effected without the assistance of the bank? There was another point on the subject of finance which gentlemen in general did not understand. There was a sinking fund for the payment of 27 millions funded in the 3½ per cent. stock, which, with the interest upon 30,550,000 other stock, would require an interest of 2,900,000. But now in the third year of peace, the state of finance did not enable the minister to provide for the interest due in the second year. He was told this was to be provided for by new taxes, and not out of the sinking fund. Now he solemnly declared he would not vote for a single halfpenny of new taxes on the country until the finances were put on an intelligible footing, because it was only cajoling the people year after year with fallacious modes of making out temporary supplies merely to plaster up the system of the right hon. gentleman, and therefore he hoped the house would stand by him, as he was sure the country would, in pressing forward the inquiry which was the object of his motion. He did not mean to say that if the minister should lay on the table a plan of finance likely to relieve the country from the embarrassment under which she laboured, that there might not be some chance of averting the fate which threatened her. But when he saw ministers resorting to mere temporising measures, and anxious only to keep their places, he would not vote for one shilling of taxes to support them. As the system at present stood, no man could know what was the value of his property. Such was the versatility of the right hon. gentleman, and such the fluctuation in consequence in the prices of public funds. Such a system brought fortunes to some men, but it excited with others a ruinous spirit of gambling and brought disgrace upon this country in the estimation of all Europe. Not that he found any fault with the dealers who employed their capital in the funds to get the highest prices they could for their commodity. But what he blamed was the vacillating policy of the right hon. gentleman in his system, that no man could calculate upon the fluctuation. But under such a system, no man whether banker or other, could say his property was secure. In his conscience, however, he could say, this might be remedied, if his Majesty's ministers would do their duty. After three years of peace, what had they done? But, in fact, nothing more was necessary than to put things on a stable footing, that the country might see how they were going on, and the public confidence be restored to some firm and rational ground of reliance. If any misunderstanding should arise in the multiplicity of our relations with other countries, if any failure in a negotiation should expose us to the risk of a new war, with such a debt pressing on the country, what must be the situation of the stock holder? Why, perilous in the extreme. Was it to be supposed that any other nation in Europe did not know this as well as England, or was not always disposed to take advantage of it for the embarrassment of this country? It was, in fact, a premium upon insult from rival nations, against which our only security was the strength of our army and navy, he would not say of our governing councils.

He thought he had now spoken out pretty plainly his sentiments of the state of the country, and of those who directed its councils; and in his view of the effects of this motion which he offered to the house, it would have a direct tendency to alter the administration. He thought he had made out a case which justified him in saying that our situation required the aid of strong councils. He had now to make out another point, namely, that the house ought to join in an endeavour to obtain such councils, by joining against the present ministers: for if he looked to the circumstances throughout the whole interior of the country, no man amongst us was capable or inclined to take the subject into consideration with any effective purpose for amendment. What had been done for the relief of the country by his Majesty's ministers since the commencement of the present session? Why, one bill had been brought in for the relief of the poor, which had just survived its introduction, and the other was in its last agonies; but in a time of peace it was lamentable that nothing had been undertaken to remedy those evils. He knew it was said that parliament could do any thing, but the house could do nothing for the purpose; it must come from the minister. Nothing of public business had been in the house but the vote of the army estimates and the bank committee. This last was owing to himself; but otherwise the house had comparatively done nothing. Ministers, in fact, did not feel themselves in the confidence of the house to hazard any project for effective measures. But if they did not bring some such measures forward, they altogether risked their own places. This was only stating what he had stated before; and with respect to the fate of the present motion, the distinction would be precisely this; those who voted against him would thereby declare that they had the most perfect confidence in his Majesty's ministers, and wished they should not be interrupted in the course they were pursuing; but those who should vote for him, would thereby mark their sense of the dangers in which the country was involved, and wished them to be taken into consideration by the house. In giving their votes on one side, they supported those who wished the opposition all hanged, and gave to ministers their implicit confidence and approbation. But those who voted on the other would mark their earnest desire for the salvation of their country. It was always usual

with the treasury benches whenever inquiry into the state of the nation was demanded on the opposite side of the house, to answer by their old argument, that the opposition only wanted to march into office. For his own part he would say, if there was a man in that house who did not wish for office on his own account, it was the individual who now had the honour to address them. He never had pretended in the course of his life to any popularity; he had no confidence in any party, however bound together, who would take office, except with the privilege of acting on their own principles. This ought to be the real and legitimate object of every man who thinks he may be useful to his country. As for himself the state of his health left him incompetent to the exertions of his earlier years; nor was he anxious for the sake of ambition to engage in those fatigues, which a responsible office must impose on him. What interested object then could be for him to seek office, which to an honest man must be a losing game? But if the friends with whom he had been wont to act, were to get into office, he would merit any unpopularity rather than not join them. Nothing, he was convinced, was more necessary to the prosperity of the country than a strong administration; and this was the very reason why the present ministers could do nothing for their country. This was the general opinion out of doors throughout the country; and was also the opinion of many of those very men who would vote for them this night. There were many members present who would not have come down to the house this night, if it were not to support the noble lord and his colleagues. He wished the noble lord joy on the point; but if there were those who held an opinion that no better Administration than the present could be formed, then indeed must the country be in a very bad way, and he thought this consideration the strongest motive for going into the committee on the state of the nation. Such had been the eagerness of the present ministers to secure all the emoluments of office to themselves and their friends, that they admitted no man who was not a dependant on their measures. He was told he had brought forward this question prematurely, as Ministers were on the eve of bringing forward their own system of finance: but there was not the least thing in common between his motion and that intended by the right honorable gentleman. The right honorable gentleman had said, that the bank question was still to be considered in a committee of the whole; but the house would recollect, that his Majesty's ministers had given two different opinions on that question. For there were reports on the table which not only stated that a one-pound note was worth 20s., and not only that it is so, but that it *shall* be so; and when he Mr. T. stated that all things were in a state of uncertainty, here was another proof of it, and nothing was more proper than to discuss the bank question in that of the state of the nation. The right honorable gentleman had said, that before the end of the session he would bring forward a measure on the subject of finance that would be satisfactory to the house and even to him (Mr. T.). He had promised to bring forward his view of the finances of the country; but he (Mr. T.) did not want his view; he wanted acts. But he was to expect nothing in that way more than his mere budget, but before that budget would be produced it would be too late to enter into the details. Perhaps he meant something like what had occurred about five years ago on the Catholic question—a resolution at the end of one session to discuss it in the next. But if the house would go into the committee now, and vote that such things must be done as should appear urgently necessary, then they must be done before the next sessions, or his Royal Highness must employ other ministers who would do them. But was there any confidence to be reposed in the present ministers? They came down to the house day after day but did nothing, and by their lassitude exposed the country to further dangers. He ought to thank him for shewing them the light in which their conduct appeared, and give them an opportunity of shewing their strength. On the other hand, he should have the consolation of shewing who the persons were who think something should be done to inquire into the state of the country throughout. This was his object, and he hoped every member in that house would give a conscientious vote. His distinct proposition was either to make the present ministers more vigorous, or to enable his Royal Highness to employ others. If he was to speak his opinion, he would wish to see them all removed, because he thought no good could be done for the country under their management. His firm opinion was, that no administration could succeed long that was not firmly disposed to the conciliation of all the classes of the people. He did not mean an obsequious compliance with mere popular clamour, but he meant a readiness to lend themselves to the promotion of some system of reform, calculated to promote the public good, and such measures were now more necessary than ever to conciliate all classes of his Majesty's subjects. Many were of opinion that such a policy would produce the most desirable good consequences, and would greatly contribute to place our finances in a prosperous state.

Lord Castlereagh rose to reply. He rose as one of his Majesty's ministers to present himself to the house, in order to answer the charges made in the able and imposing speech of the right hon. gentleman. He had not the least exception to the principle laid down by the right hon. gentleman, but only to the manner in which he had reflected upon his right hon. friend. He would put it to the feelings of the house, whether at any period greater or more efficient exertions had been made in the finances of this country, than by his right hon. friend. Far from that this country had felt the calamity of Mr. Perceval's death. The indefatigable exertions, and the effective arrangements of his right hon. friend, had enabled this country to make the most extraordinary struggles under the greatest difficulties ever experienced by this country. And even with all the tricks at which the right hon. gentleman was so skilful in debate, and which he was so apt to use, he would call on him to say if he could find any records in this country which had exhibited a state of the public finances equal to that produced by his exertion in the course of that period; and that even since the return of peace after the long, arduous and expensive war which had embarrassed the resources of the country, his right hon. friend had evinced talents rarely paralleled under such circumstances. If the question before the house was the bank restriction, he should think it was the duty of ministers to look it fairly in the face; and it was not by that sort of tone the right hon. gentleman knew so well how to use, and calculated to awaken the feelings of the house that his right hon. friend was led prematurely into the discussion of a subject which he was prepared to bring forward in a few days—a subject the most important that had been discussed in that house for many years. The right hon. gentleman had thus prematurely brought forward this question for the sake of using a little Parliamentary tactic against administration; but now on the very eve of the discussion, intended to be brought forward by his right hon. friend, the right hon. gentleman would make the house believe he was sincere in bringing forward this question. But if he (the noble lord) had any influence with his right hon. friend, he would dissuade him from suffering him-

self to be dragged thus prematurely into discussion. But he could assure the right hon. gentleman he would find his right hon. friend fully prepared to meet him when in a few days the proper moment should arrive for going regularly into the whole question. If after the close of the war the country could have been prevailed on to bear for a few years longer the pressure of the income tax, none of the embarrassment complained of would have occurred; but the country was averse to the countenance of that tax, and hence he was obliged to have recourse to others.

The noble lord could never submit to sit silently in that house and hear taunts levelled by the right honourable gentleman against that alliance and union now so happily subsisting amongst the great powers of Europe, an alliance commenced not with a view, as had been more than insinuated, to overlay or subjugate any of the other powers of the continent, but with the sincerest and most ardent desire of laying the foundation of, and securing to Europe a peace, calculated to heal all her wounds, and which had already continued, without any disposition being displayed to interrupt it, for a considerable period of time. The objects which the high contracting parties had avowed they had in view at the commencement of their union were the maintenance of social and religious order, together with the general welfare of the nations of Europe. That such objects were praiseworthy in themselves, he thought few would be hardy enough to deny, and he would challenge the right hon. gentleman or his friends to shew that these contracting powers had in any instance departed from the pledge which they had then given to Europe. It had been insinuated that one great object of this union was the reduction of the power and influence of France. This he felt it would be an injustice to himself, to his colleagues, and to the powers who had entered into this union, not to deny in the most unequivocal manner. It was the sincerest wish of all those parties that France, so far from having its power reduced, should occupy the space assigned to her by her extent and resources in the political balance of Europe with the most perfect liberty and control over those resources and every possible benefit to herself. It was not against France he or his colleagues had so long directed the force of this country. It was against revolutionary France alone they had manifested a steady principle of resistance and coercion, in which they had been seconded and supported through a black and distressing period of years by all the honest and sound hearts in England. There was no jealousy harboured by that union against France as a nation, and if she were disposed to follow peaceful counsels she would find no feeling whatever, existing in the members of that union collectively, at variance with her best and truest interests, but would be at liberty to follow whatever other objects might be most conducive to her happiness and prosperity.

A vague regret had been expressed at the state of our trade and commerce. The present was not the period at which to discuss such a question, with reference to the number of markets open to our commerce or the extension of trading speculations; but this far he would assure the House, that never had the trade of this country in any period of its history been within a fourth of the amount of its trade within the last four years. The two last years had been the greatest years of trade ever known, as official returns would prove. As to the policy or wisdom of commercial treaties, he entertained a different opinion from that of the right hon. gentleman, and thought it would be better if there were not so many of these treaties; it was an unworthy situation in which to place the trade of this country, knocking as it were at every door throughout the maritime world for admission on terms too often discreditable to our rank as a nation. The trade of this country stood on its own peculiar principles, and must of itself, from the very nature of those principles, win its widening way throughout the globe. It would redound little to the honour of the British character, if they had been detected trafficking for paltry commercial advantages from her allies, at a moment when she was wounding up her exertions in their behalf, in the bowels of these countries.—(A laugh from the opposition)—she had volunteered to save and protect. The expression might appear uncouth, and perhaps presented something ludicrous in its first appearance; but he simply meant to say, that it would be mean and impolitic in the extreme, for the administration of this country to be engaged in stipulating with the tottering governments of Spain and Portugal for the terms of a commercial treaty, whilst we, as well as the natives, were engaged in a mortal struggle with the common enemy, in the very heart of their devastated country. On the subject of the rights of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland, he had been surprised to find a person possessed of so much information make so complete an error. It was most especially requisite that our disputes with the United States should be perfectly and fairly adjusted; with that view the Commission at Ghent was opened. In consequence of the arrangements made by our commission at Ghent, these sessions were agreed to, in consideration of advantages given to our subjects. It was therefore absurd to attribute them to any commercial treaty, with which the matter obviously had nothing to do. That it was more especially our interest to adjust all our differences with the American States, would be proved by merely stating that our trade with that part of the world alone amounted to about eleven or twelve millions annually.

The motion for going into a committee on the state of the nation, would be found then to rest, not on the bank question, but upon that which alone constituted the essence of the motion, namely, whether the house should think a change of ministers necessary. Such was obviously the import of the motion of the right hon. gentleman. He would invite that right hon. gentleman to shorten at once his mode of proceeding, and propose a resolution, declarative of the incompetency of the present ministers. The situation of both himself and his colleagues would be then far preferable, as he could not imagine that their exertions in the public service for the last eight years, were so far dead and gone in the recollection of the house, as to induce a majority to agree in opinion with the right hon. gentleman. This general charge of incompetency was founded on three heads of impeachment: the first, the want of attention to the subject of the Poor Laws; the next, the division obtained against Administration on the Scotch Burghs Reform question; and lastly, the imputed neglect of the proposed reform in the Criminal Law. He would boldly put it to the house, in which of these respects had they found any of those eminent failures which ought to constitute a ground for so general a charge, or shake that confidence which had been so long reposed in his majesty's government? Did their culpability consist in want of system, or want of principle? And here, by the bye, he must say, the charge of want of principle could not come from a person less qualified to congratulate himself upon its possession. In what part of that right hon. gentleman's life could any thing like principle be traced? And if the country were to have a new administration, it would be highly improper that the right hon. gentleman, who certainly was not one of the small stars on that

side of the horizon, should not be one of its most responsible members. That right hon. gentleman had been always distinguished for his dexterity in public affairs, and had lately succeeded admirably in bringing about the conversion of the members usually on the opposite side of the House to a less inconsistent mode of managing their affairs in that house. Something like order had been introduced, owing to a species of management adopted by that right hon. gentleman which could not well be denominated trick. If any principle had ever been distinguishable amongst those honourable gentlemen, it certainly was a most determined opposition shewn at the period of the war, with a view to thwart his Majesty's ministers in their happily successful attempts to stem the torrent of destruction then about to engulf the whole of Europe. Of their conduct on that occasion, he would leave the recollection of the house to refresh itself, from the opinion, history had already taken of it. So far it would not be difficult to say on which side a firm and unshaken principle of acting had been displayed and finally crowned with success; but the right hon. gentleman would no doubt rather found the claims of his party to public confidence upon the late division, which was so flattering to their hopes. As to the poor laws, though complaints had been loud, it was a very delicate subject, upon which he had never known any thing yet presented to Government or the country, which promised upon tangible grounds any practical change for the better.

Of the Financial system he should say nothing until at the proper period, the charities of the country had occupied attention for some time and were likely to occupy more. In fact, he could not see upon what act or want of attention the charge of incompetency on the part of government could be fairly founded. The question really was brought forward by the right hon. gentleman as a prelude to a much more serious subject, a sort of grand field-day, to display and try his force, upon whose support he entertained some fearful doubts. He could not safely reckon, but that some of his chief officers and leading men would desert him, or break out into open dissatisfaction or rebellion, when the bank question should come on before the house. This had rendered him particularly anxious to shew to the country what might be done with a desultory species of force by management. This force resembled in a good many points a Mahratta coalition, and the description of the Pindarries given by his right hon. friend, suited their character in every attribute, except their sanguinary disposition, the house being well aware these gentlemen were the sworn friends of peace.—(Laughing).—Formerly they were destitute of anything like union, one Gentleman's speech was often the answer to his fellow politician on the same, and the very patience of Mr. Speaker had been tried to the uttermost by the lengths of these debates. Suddenly order began to manifest itself, which being accompanied by a sort of voiceless, quakerish, quietism, led some to suppose those months had been sewed until they should have liberty given them to speak, whilst some imagined they had one and all resigned their political creed into the hands of their new leader.—(Laughter).—He did not deny that he thought him the best leader he had ever seen, for the forces never failed to muster at five o'clock, and remained without murmuring under arms all night, without being sensible they wanted natural refreshment.—(A laugh.)

So far it was the best specimen of strict discipline he had ever witnessed, more particularly in a whig army, who were not the most patient of severe regulations. The ranks of opposition in late divisions, he was sorry to say had been swelled by the accession of some who were foremost to hurl their present associates from their seats of office; he had the highest respect for these troops, but suspected they had, like certain victors of antiquity, been spoiled by being nursed in the lap of indolence during a long peace. He saw nothing discouraging in the prospect of the division, for in the late cases the division had consisted mostly if not altogether of constantly attending members. On this occasion every bench was crowded, and he would entreat of each member as men of public and private consistency to rally round those principles, which they had espoused for years with honor to themselves and benefit to the world. If it was determined by artifice and management to overthrow the administration, the friends of government ought boldly to come forward and speak their minds as men, and not suffer the country to be imposed on by the ingenuity and artifice of their antagonist. Had any thing like a case such as that assumed by the right hon. gent. been likely to have been made out, it would long ago have been his indispensable duty, as an honest man, to have brought the present administration to justice by impeachment. On this occasion he had preferred the present mode as calculated to display his activity in bringing chaos into order. Never had administration been called on to act in a character of more serious responsibility than upon the present occasion, and they were now particularly entitled to that support (under whose auspices they had been enabled so long to weather the storms of war and secure to the country all the blessings of a permanent peace) upon a question like this, which was in fact nothing more than whether the present administration should retain their situations, or the right hon. gent. and his political friends be invited to fill them. The noble lord concluded his speech amidst loud and continued cheers.

Lord John Russell considered that the unpopularity of the present administration was clearly evident. The conduct of the hon. member who had just sat down was a tacit censure on them, and he felt certain, that if his right hon. friend had proposed a direct vote of censure the hon. member would have voted in favour of it. The noble lord had accused his right hon. friend of artifice; but was the speech of the noble lord not an example of such practices? The noble lord had said, that the late war was not for the destruction of the principles adopted by the revolutionists of France, but for the restoration of a family to the throne of that country. While it was evident, from the acts at the commencement of the revolution, and from the observations in Mr. Burke's book, that the destruction of these principles was the chief object. He rejoiced to find that they were now firmly established in France, and that a ministry was there established which promised a long continuance of the blessings of peace. Why was each nation of Europe almost united, since the peace of Paris, against the welfare of England, and particularly Austria and Spain? Why was the important question of the Poor Laws not investigated and regulated under the direction of the ministry; that question, which, in its results, was of the greatest importance to the state? His lamented friend, Mr. Horner, had said, and he agreed in the statement, that the peasantry of England were now reduced to a state of villanage; that peasantry which had always been the support of the country. Was not this change to be deprecated? Whence did it arise? Were the present ministers innocent of having caused it?—The conduct of the noble lord reminded him of the conduct of a person at one of the theatres in France, who, upon hearing thunder, exclaimed "That's my thunder;" in like

manner the noble lord took to himself all the credit of the snow and severe weather, by means of which our enemy was defeated. His Lordship concluded by saying that his right hon. friend had insisted upon one very remarkable point, that of finance, as one amongst other considerations, on account of which his motion ought to be acceded to.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, after some prefatory observations, said, that the subject to which the motion now before the House referred was one so vast, and included so many objects, that the eye could scarcely take in the view which it suggested. He felt inclined to address the House on this subject as a Roman Emperor had addressed the Senate—"Non scribam vobis Patres Conscripti vel quod non possum scribere," &c. If the object of the motion before the House was brought forward merely for the purpose of effecting a change in the Administration, he was ready to say that for his part he did not see what great advantage would be derived from it.—(*Hear! and some laughter*)—He did not care what effect his remarks might produce on either side, if they served to elicit truth. He was surprised that the Hon. Member who had last spoken, and for whom he entertained much personal respect, should have said, that the object of the motion before the House was to hold up the Members of the Government to scorn and contempt; for if ever there was a debate brought forward with little feeling tending to depreciate the character of an Administration, it was the present one. It was strange, if the object of the motion was merely to produce a change of Administration, that that Hon. Member should have stated that little was to be expected from economy. He (Sir F. Burdett) thought much was to be expected from economy, and he thought it would be the only advantage which could be derived from a change of Administration.—(*Hear, hear, from the opposition side.*)—He was sorry to have heard the Hon. Member say, that nothing was to be expected from the Reform, by which of course was to be understood Parliamentary Reform.—[Mr. Lamb, we believe, here said, No!]—He was glad to hear that he had not made this latter assertion; but in reference to what was said respecting the unpopularity of Ministers as arising merely from the want of economy, he (Sir F. Burdett) would say, that he knew the present Administration to be justly unpopular throughout the country at large, not merely in consequence of financial difficulties, but on more important grounds—on the grounds that they had subverted all the ancient bulwarks of the Constitution.—(*Cries of Hear! from the opposition side.*)—It was by subservience to Ministers that the Parliament itself, though a new one, had become unpopular. When the Noble Lord was praising the discipline of the forces, mustered, as he was pleased to say, by the Hon. Member who brought forward this motion he might be considered as at the same time making an harangue to his own troops, whom he calls his household guard.—(*Hear, hear! and laughing on the Opposition side.*)—He feared that no impression would be made on these disciplinarians, for a majority of the House still consisted of the nominees of Peers; and here he could not help saying, that such interference in the election of Members for that House, was in the highest degree opposed to constitutional principles. Such interference was equally unconstitutional as those corrupt practices which were acknowledged as being clear as the sun at noon-day. Having alluded to corrupt practices which had been openly avowed and defended in the house, he would take the opportunity of mentioning, that he had not interfered on the subject of abuses in one or two boroughs which had lately been brought before the house, because he thought it unjust to single out only a few of the boroughs for punishment, when the system that prevails in all is the same.

The Hon. Member, in the next instance, proceeded to notice the extreme distress and difficulties which, as he stated, pervade the whole manufacturing and agricultural system. He believed, he said, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at the end of all his schemes, and that if he were to propose an Income Tax, it would be acceded to by a majority in that House, however repugnant it might be to the feelings of the people. He could believe, that even an Income Tax, if brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, would be acceded to; for, although he was the least likely man in the world to dupe any one, he had persuaded the House that a one-pound note of the Bank of England, together with a shilling, was worth one guinea in gold, at a time when the guinea was selling in the market for much more.—(*Cries of Hear! and laughing on the Opposition side.*)—The Hon. Member next took occasion to allude to the state of Ireland, the people of which, he said, were rather irritated than injured under religious pretences. With respect to that country, which had been so much misunderstood, and concerning which so many absurd prejudices prevail in England, he said, that in the visit which he made there, he had been most agreeably disappointed. Injustice and prejudice, he said, had represented the Irish as savage, but if they were so, he could only say, that they were the gentlest on the face of the earth. The Hon. Member here proceeded to pass several high eulogiums on the character and disposition of the people of Ireland, than whom, he said, that there did not exist on the face of the earth a nation more civilised (not even excepting the polite urbanity of the French), nor one more humane and charitable. They were, he said, a people than whom none on earth were more easy to be led, or more difficult to be driven. (*The praises bestowed on the people of Ireland drew applause from both sides of the House.*) Ireland, he said, was perhaps the only country in which, if a person were thrown on the shore, solitary and destitute of every means of support, he might travel over the entire country, and would obtain the sympathy and hospitality of the poorest cottager at whose door he should present himself. A hospitable and generous disposition is the character of all classes in that country, from the highest

to the most humble; and when he reflected on the system which had been adopted towards such a people, when he considered that some persons could see only the few errors which might perhaps exist in the Irish character, but none of its virtues, it reminded him of the comparison of such persons to the beetle, which travels over the delightful field adorned with every object that is beautiful and healthful, in order that it may at length settle and feed upon carrion.—(*Cries of Hear, hear, hear!*)—With regard to Scotland, it had been said that an important measure had been carried for it. As to this measure, he would only say—*Accipio Omen, felix funtumque sit.* He was afraid, however, that the House would not give the Scotch that power which alone could procure them redress, namely, the power of electing those persons who were to dispose of their property. The people of England had committed the same error as the people of Scotland, and it had been equally destructive to each. He feared that they would not get redress. And yet without a Rational Reform nothing could be done that would give real force and energy to the measures of Government. Ministers might rest assured that there could not be a truly powerful and solid system of Government, if they were not supported by a House of Commons, possessing the confidence of the country; and that it was impossible that the House of Commons, unless a Reform took place, could possess the confidence and support of the people. Without a Rational Reform nothing would be done even respecting the Poor Laws. With regard to the subject of Finance, he would be very short. The question, as the Bank had truly said, was not whether they should pay in specie, but whether the circumstances of the country would admit of a diminished circulation.—(*Hear, hear, hear!*)

Mr. CANNING said, the motion of the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Tierney), as explained by himself, and as understood by every man in the House who took any part in the debate, called upon the House to exercise the high constitutional function of sitting in judgment, and giving their verdict on the Ministers of the Crown. The attempt made therefore by one Hon. Gentleman to detract from the admissions of the Right Hon. Member, as to the object of his motion, was to no purpose. The Right Hon. Gentleman himself (Mr. Tierney) called for no such interpretation of his views. He declared that their decision that night must involve the fate of the Administration now possessing the confidence of the Crown. Lest any might have mistaken the Right Hon. Gentleman, he (Mr. Canning) would now say that the issue of the motion, if affirmative of the proposition, would pronounce the dissolution of the present Government. Did he mean on this account to impute blame, or any improper motive to the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. T.)? No such thing. It was the acknowledged constitutional mode of taking the sense of Parliament on the Administration of the country. If there was any unfairness that could be complained of, it was not imputable to the motion itself, but to the time at which it was brought forward. An Honourable Gentleman who spoke lately seemed to think that he may support the motion, without passing a sentence of dismissal or condemnation on his Majesty's Ministers, and another Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Marryat) fancied he saw his way out of the difficulty by saying; that if the previous question were moved he would have voted for it. That way however was not open to him. He expressed his approbation of his Majesty's Ministers generally, but made one solitary exception of his Right Hon. Friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) on account of the duty on tallow. His agonised bosom was torn between the conflicting sense of those obligations he owed to Ministers, and the indignation arising from this ill-fated measure. He could find no way of satisfying his conscience, but would vote for the previous question if it was moved.

Having stated what he (Mr. Canning) complained of as unfair in the time and circumstances of bringing forward the motion, he would next address himself to the proposition itself. The course of the argument was this, that the country both internally and externally, was in a state of extraordinary difficulty, that its finance, and the other relations in which it could be viewed, demanded therefore all the attention that the most able and experienced minds could bestow upon them. He would admit that the internal situation of the country was full of difficulty, but it was not such as should lead to despair. It was impossible to look through the world without perceiving that there presented themselves not merely chances, but probabilities of removing it. He would allow that there never was a period in which it more behoved the country to look minutely into their financial concerns, and to see that all was right. In order to assume to the world that aspect of confidence which could arise only from the consciousness of strength, they should look into their finance, adopt every mode of improving it, and give it that undistinguished explanation that would render it clear and intelligible to the country. This necessity was felt by his Majesty's Ministers as much as by the Right Hon. Gentleman himself (Mr. Tierney), and they had a right to complain that his motion was now brought forward, to rob them of the merit of bringing their system of Finance fairly before the public in a few days. The Right Hon. Gentleman might say, as was the case upon other occasions, that it was his motion gave rise to it. He could assure him that such was not the case. Nothing but the necessity of previously bringing the affairs of the Bank before the House prevented his Right Hon. Friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) from proposing his plan of Finance sooner. When the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Tierney) put the question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether he had any financial plan, his Right Hon. Friend said, had he expected this motion, he would not have hesitated to inform him, that he had an intention of bringing forward such a plan, not only for the year, but for the whole period during which peace may continue. What other motive could the Right Hon. Gentleman have in proposing his motion that night, but to take from Ministers the initiative in these things?

He said the dignity, if not the power of the country, had already suffered. He seemed to think that an opportunity was lost of vindicating their dignity, because they did not go to the very last extremity to which it might have been asserted. This the Right Hon. Gentleman did not state in direct terms, but he seemed

"To hint blame and hesitate dislike."

He said that two British subjects were murdered, under the forms of justice, by a General of the United States, without any reparation obtained. The act, no doubt, was not characterised by him in terms too strong, but for what purpose was it alluded to, unless to insinuate that there was something in their forbearance not to be accounted for but by a consciousness of impotence, and yet the right Honorable Gentleman himself doubted, whether by the strict law of nations their interference upon such an occasion was justifiable. In this he was correct. They took as much trouble to ascertain whether, consistently with the law of nations, they could interfere, as if they had made the country ring from one end to the other with cries of redress. Whatever other ground there might be for a charge against government, this was not one. His Majesty's Ministers felt all the indignation that such an act merited, but they were deterred from proceeding to an extremity from which, consistently with the law of nations, they could not honourably retire. The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Tierney) seemed to think that they were bound to interfere for the purpose of preventing the cession of the Floridas. It was more the interest of this country that they should remain in the possession of Spain, but would it be justifiable to interfere to prevent the surrender? There was no means of doing it, unless they were prepared to make common cause with one country against another. How far, under present circumstances, this might be their duty or interest, was another question. If not intended to be urged as a point of blame, there was no reason for introducing it at all. The observations of the right hon. gentleman were no doubt intended to impute blame to his Majesty's Ministers for their alleged disregard of the commerce of the country, especially as relating to Spain. But when the house recollected all that had been said about the advantages of tranquillity, about the dangers of war, about the impropriety of all interference in the concerns of foreign nations, nay the common places against hostility still ringing in the ears of every member who heard him, he was not a little astonished at the tone of the right hon. gentleman's remarks. He was astonished at the observation coming from any statesman, that, unless misled by some fanatical spirit, the Government of the country should have committed the honour and the interests of the empire in a new, and what he should call, an unnecessary war—(Hear, hear!)—against Spain. He had heard of wars of interest, of temper, and wars of speculation; but he never yet had heard of so mad a proposition as was then current throughout the world, that the banners of the Insurgents in South America should have been protected by Great Britain.—(Hear, hear!)—He did not mean the phrase Insurgents to be improperly implied or understood; but their quarrel and that of the mother country remaining undecided, the British Government felt it their duty to interfere. Their object was, if possible, by mediation, to reconcile them; and after that mediation had proved hopeless, to interfere as between two independent Powers. Both were refused, and he regretted it; but still an amicable intercourse had been maintained between them. And into whatever port the British flag could find an entrance, no doubt was entertained of England's kind and pacific dispositions; unless where some bold and fierce adventurers, unfit for home, and no ornament wherever they sojourned, had maligned her character and distorted her motives, for purposes of interest or revenge.—(Hear, hear!)—It was imagined, because armaments were allowed to be fitted out from England, that her government had embarked its opinions with such adventurers as composed their crew, but no act of the Government was once intended, or could be construed as intending to identify them with the principles or objects of the adventurers. The common opinion was otherwise; and the Government would have contradicted it did they feel themselves in any degree warranted or compelled to do so. But they were not. There was no doubt a race of petty politicians who considered our conduct towards Spain as a sort of retaliative measure.—(Cries of No, no!)—and that the Government retorted upon her the lesson of her own injustice; but their only retaliation, was that of interference. And would to God they had accepted it! Would to God they had yielded to the suggestions of friendship and sound prudence! But after all, they wished the people of Spanish America to be free.—(Hear, hear!)—It was true the British Government had refused to enter into any commercial treaty with the South Americans, and so far they were guilty. Guilty—Yes; but not guilty of turning the troubles and distresses of a struggling people to their advantage.—(Hear, hear!)

The inconvenient manner in which the right hon. gentleman had brought forward his motion, rendered it almost wholly impossible to have precluded all discussion on the state of the Bank. But the caution of that right hon. gentleman had not been followed by those who followed him, dealing as they did in the most illiberal remarks. The pervading part of the right hon. gentleman's speech, was that to which he should now particularly confine himself, and not to the loose and general charges, which he had so copiously flung out against his Majesty's ministers. Their want of skill in the administration of the nation's affairs, their inability to bring the empire's resources into full and healthy play, both as regarding her internal and external polity, were charged against them. Nor these alone. There was no point of union amongst them, no common principle of action, no common bond to link them together. But such charges could be easily made, and

were not at all unnatural when coming from the opposition side of the house. Where, however, could a perfect administration be discovered? Where could a government be found, without any difference of opinion? It would be difficult to find one, difficult to select one, and certainly not from the hon. member opposite. The ministers were asked, how was it possible for them to act wisely and definitively, with prudence and decision, known as they were to differ on many important objects? But it was easier to assert the existence of such a difference, than to prove it from a reference to facts. Attacked as they had been on all quarters, it was not unreasonable to suppose, that different members of the government might occasionally differ on particularly subjects; but such differences would exist under any possible administration that might be formed. And he asked, what measures could be determined on, unless by the comparison and compromise of different opinions, so as to suit them to any practical adoption? If indeed the British government exhibited no union in their subsequent plans—if they exhibited no agreement in their recommendation of measures hereafter to be acted on, he should plead guilty to the charge alleged by the right hon. gent. and his friends. But if, on the contrary, they did exhibit both strength and union, and sound policy in their proposed measures, he did not think it would be fair to use any harshness of criticism, or severity of examination into the manner by which such results might have been obtained. He knew no point of honour which could call for any explanation how they had aimed at certain conclusions, or how certain compromises might have been effected.

The Right Hon. Gent. might easily call for a statement of the reasons of the difference, or their union on certain matters; but as he admitted he held singular opinions, it was the more easy for him to be in union with himself; and more easy than for those who held different opinions on difficult and abstruse subjects, to agree on some occasions or state the motive of such agreement or disunion, as might exist between them. The Ministers, however, had agreed sufficiently, and that was quite enough. Much had been said about the disunion that prevailed amongst them, as if it pervaded every question connected with the welfare of the nation. But the fact was, they were only divided on one great, pre-eminently great national question; namely, the Catholic Claims, as they were generally denominated. And no man better knew the sources from which that disunion flowed than the Right Hon. Gentleman himself. On that question it would be hopeless to look for an united administration. It would have been achieved in 1812, if that were possible; and for himself, he could say, in proof of his zeal and sincerity, to effect it, he had sacrificed all that an honorable ambition could desire, the hope of serving his country. Twice in that year did he sacrifice the noblest ambition of the human mind, and he sacrificed it with abler and worthier men, who had earnestly and sincerely sought to effect it, and had failed; and it was not until after that attempt, that the present administration had been formed; every Member of which had only entered into office on the express stipulation of his holding his own opinion on that eventful and important subject. Whether such a stipulation were wise or not, it was not for him to say, but those who said that the Government should have been united on that subject, should have at a better opportunity, interposed that condition, which they charged as a crime against the existing Administration.—(Hear, hear!)—He had subsequently entered into office, with the complete understanding that he should maintain his own opinion on that subject; and he did not see why, having taken a course in coincidence with such views, he should be called upon to desert from the ranks, of such a Government. Much as he had sacrificed in 1812, and much as he would still sacrifice on that vital question, he could not avoid stating his opinion, that it was attended with almost insurmountable obstacles. And although all power might be thrown into the hands of the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Tierney) by the vote of that night, still he thought the Catholic Question would prevent his being able to form an Administration who would be able to carry effectively and unitedly that most desirable measure. In 1806, the Administration had coveted the assistance of some Noble Lords, decisively hostile to it; and if he might be then allowed to state his creed upon the subject, he would say, it would not be good for the country that an Administration should entirely agree upon it.—(Hear, hear, hear!)—An Administration decisively for, or decisively against it, would be equally likely to excite a clamour, and engender an irritation at variance with the best and most substantial interests of the Empire. The question was rapidly making its way in public opinion, and to public opinion should it be allowed eventually to carry it.

Another charge had been brought forward against the Government, that they had not swiftness enough to resist the questions which were forced upon them. And the charge was true in two memorable instances with regard to the appointment of Committees. Overloaded however, with their own Committees, the kindness of the other side forced more upon them, and from whom he anticipated all those mischiefs which the nature of their inquiry would infallibly lead to. But he was asked or, rather, the Ministers were asked, was that the way in which to carry on a Government? And he answered in the utmost frankness—no. But there were other considerations which could not be disavowed from the general march of Government, considerations which should induce some hesitation, before a judgment of censure could be with fairness or propriety pronounced. And if the support to be calculated on by Government were only such as they had experienced on the two occasions alluded to; if they could rely upon no other, then no doubt they were inevitably gone. They were further charged with taking no hints, but was it thereby implied, that all confidence should be withdrawn from them? But he would say, if they then did not take the Right Hon. Gentleman's hint, it was not because they did not understand it, for that

night, at all events, they well knew how it was meant. They had been called as Government of Committee; but they did not resort to Committees, when the executive could discharge the duties they were bound to by their office. They did not shrink from responsibility when necessary; they neglected no duty; but the powers of no Administration could get through the labour expected to be performed by them. When the destinies of the empire were swayed between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, the labour of the Government was nothing in comparison to what it was at the present day. Their time was vexatiously wasted with petitions, that a Court of *Pied Poudre* would not have entertained, and with an examination into complaints for which a Court of Conscience would not award a farthing damages.—(*Hear, hear, hear!*)—The champion, however, of public grievances had only to come down *plene pastus*, while they, the Ministers remained *impransi*, and be still compelled to answer every question, know every man's occupation, and be stigmatised as imbecile and cruel, if they did not answer on demand.—(*Hear, hear!*)—The right of petitioning should not be checked; but he could not help saying, it had latterly been most frightfully abused. And while the Government was thus harassed and tormented, it could not be, however, matter of surprise, if many things had unavoidably been referred to the examination and inquiry of Committees.

They were asked why they did take up the question of the Poor Laws? and a very natural question it was, considering the quarter from whence it came. But they might as well have been asked, why they were able to effect that, in which Mr. Pitt, in the singleness of his strength, had tried and failed: in which Mr. Whitbread had tried and also failed—why they did not remedy the abuses of centuries in a day, and divert the feelings of a nation grown inveterate from hatred, with a more useful and better regulated growth? They could not do so. An amiable and accomplished friend of his (Mr. S. Bourne) had done much to mend the system of the Poor Laws, and even his suavity of manner and kindness of disposition did not shield him from the most wild and virulent attacks. But after all he asked, what would be gained in strength or unanimity by removing the present administration? Were there no other questions but the Scotch Burghs and the Catholic Claims to create differences of opinion? Did the Gentlemen opposite forget the Westminster election and the popularity of the Whigs? Would not the question of reform cause some slight shades of difference? He had faced a popular election and did not require grenadiers to escort him to his house.—(*Hear! from the Ministerial Benches.*)—He was not greeted by a mud-be-spattered group, nor did he require a detachment of his Majesty's troops to escort him from the friendship of popularity.

After a variety of other able and humorous remarks that excited continual laughter at and about the treasury bench, together with cries of *Hear!* from the opposition benches, the right honorable gentleman concluded by saying, if the house only counted the battles fought and trophies won, the thrones protected and the empires saved during their administration, the uniform prognostications of evil answered by uniform success, they would be able to form the best estimate of their talents and their capacity, and their zeal for the public interest. Either then he continued, let us be dismissed with honour by a decisive vote, or be supported in such a manner as to enable us to conduct becomingly the general affairs of the nation.—*Loud Cries of Hear!* followed the speech of the Right Hon. Gentleman.

Mr. TIERNEY, in reply, denied, that the motion originated in a wish to obtain the dismissal of his majesty's ministers: and in justice to the gentlemen on his side of the house he would positively assert that they had not contemplated an introduction to office. He entered into a restatement of the motion, which, he said, had been misunderstood. In answer to the observation that the Opposition was unpopular, it was to be recollected that the administration had the church and influence of the crown; and he had no doubt if the lists should be examined that night after the division, and the names of the members who were personally in office and connected with the court were deducted, that the majority would, in that case be on his side of the house. He denied that he had forestalled the question; and declared, that until the declaration made that night, he had not heard that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had a new system of Finance to introduce. He contended, that the ministers had availed themselves of committees to relieve them from responsibility; that the motion for a Committee on the State of the Nation did not necessarily imply the dismissal of the Ministers, for an instance to the contrary might be found during Lord North's Administration; his object was, that the House should shew a sympathy for the sufferings of the country; if the House should refuse that inquiry, it would be a declaration that the distresses of the nation were disregarded.

Strangers were ordered to withdraw, and the House divided—

For the Motion	178
Against it	357

Majority against the Motion —179

The other Orders were then disposed of, and the House adjourned a HALF-PAST TWO O'CLOCK.

Erratum.

In the Postscript to the Letter of AN OBSERVER, published yesterday, for *Civil read Civic.*

Hebrew Melodies.

(Specimen of the Poetry, written by Mr. Hogg, the Elrick Shepherd, for the Hebrew Melodies.)

THE CAPTIVE'S SONG.

Rise! rise! dawn of the morn!
In glory awake, for thy hour is nigh;
Com'st thou afar, by cherubim borne;
O'er lands of the East, o'er star and sky?
Or sleep'st thou on yon mountains gray?
Awake! thou Sun, and come away!

Yes, thou wilt wake—but woe is me,
For the shame and guilt thine eye must see—
The stranger's incense burning still
On the heights of Zion's holy hill,
And the rude Sabines' altar stone
In the green groves of Lebanon.

Wake! wake! that I may view
Thy splendour shed, nor grieve the loss,
O'er vales of Kedar bath'd in dew,
And Chebar's balmy wilderness;
Soon thou wilt smile in beauty bland.
Above the Chaldean's sinful land.

But O, when shall dawn the day
Of retribution and of grace?
When shall the shadows pass away
That brood o'er Israel's fallen race?
Thou Holy One—has Salem's day
By thee forgotten been for aye?

Sing! sing! how shall I sing
A song of Zion or of thee?
Or hymn the name of Israel's king
In darkness and captivity?
My labor has no strain nor string
The songs of Zion's land to sing!

But thee, Jerusalem—when my heart
Ceases to yearn and bleed for thee,
May skill from my right hand depart,
And my reward let bondage be.
There lies engraved thy temple fair,
And name that One we worshipp'd there!

Wake! wake! in thy strength awake!
Be vengeance on the heathen driven!
Before thee let the mountains quake;
Thy chariot be the winds of heaven,
Come on the clouds, and who shall stand
Against the sway of thy right hand?
Think not of us, so far removed,
And as a garment cast away.
Think on our fathers once beloved;
Must David's house like grass decay?
Return and set thy people free;
And captives yet shall sing to Thee.

A FRAGMENT.

We toil and fret our life-time through,
For praise or fame that quickly flies,
Nor think that all, like morning's dew,
Shines for an hour—then fades and dies!

Oh, did we in our youthful prime,
But learn the wise and only lore—
To bend our thoughts to after-time,
Content were our's for evermore!

But, lur'd by gay and phantom shades,
We urge our way as feelings lead;
Nor dream the brightest glory fades;
That worms will on our greatness feed:

But yet, perhaps, 'tis fated so!
And while on earth we're doom'd to toil,
'Tis sweet to think—that deeds below
May flourish in a kindlier soil!

And after all, when life is o'er,
And cold, among our sires we sleep,
Some vision may those scenes restore,
Which love and virtue blooming keep.